

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

To facilitate comparison, my list is presented in the order of Kroeber's;⁶⁰¹ but since the terms were always used with pronominal prefixes, these possessives are retained. [193]

Parent and Child Class

tiko'i	my father
tilla'	my mother
tia's'm	my son
tia's'mu	my daughter

Sibling Class

tia't'u	my elder brother or e. male cousin
tii'sa	my elder sister or s. female cousin
tipe'yu	my younger brother or y. male cousin
tiwi'tsuk	my younger sister or y. female cousin

Grandparent and Grandchild Class

tipa'pa	my father's father
lapa'pa	my son's child (m. sp.)
tia'lel	my mother's father
le'leli	my daughter's child (m. sp.)
ti's'ma	my father's mother
la's'ama	my son's child (w. sp.)
(also recorded la.s'ama)	
tiku'u	my mother's mother
lebu'k'u.i	my sister's daughter's child (Jack did not remember any reciprocal term)
leku'l	my daughter's child (w. sp.)
tia'ma	my father's father's sister
la.s'ama	my brother's son's child (w. sp.)
la.s'taagi	my brother's son's son (m. sp.)
tia'tsuk	my father's father's brother

Uncle and Nephew Class

tia's'nei	my father's brother; mother's sister's husband
tima'sca	my brother's child (m. sp.)
tita'a	my mother's brother
tima'gu	my sister's child; my sister's husband's child (m. sp.) my husband's sibling's child; my stepson (w. sp.)
tiya'	my father's sister
tier'muk	my brother's child (w. sp.)
tica'ca	my mother's sister; father's brother's wife; my stepmother

⁶⁰¹ California Kinship Systems, UC-PAAE 12:362, 1917.

⁶⁰² For a speaker of either sex, according to my information; Kroeber was not sure of the stem for a woman's sister's child and thought it might be er'muk. However, he found that a woman called her sister's husband her "sister's child's father," magudakoi, which phrase supports my definition of magu. [113]

APPENDIX A

LINGUISTIC NOTE AND GLOSSARY

The Washo spoke a Hokan language while the Northern Paiute to the east spoke a Utaztekan language and the Miwok and Maidu to the west spoke Penutian languages. Peoples speaking Hokan languages at initial White contact times were distributed in scattered groups from California through Mexico and into Central America. The glottochronology of Hokan indicates that the Hokan peoples began to split up into these groups about 5,000 years ago (Kroeber 1955). 197

The following orthography was used by this writer in recording and is the major one used in this study. Washo words from Lowie (1939) and Jacobsen (personal communication) have been rewritten to conform to the orthography used here. 104
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Consonants

	labial	alveolar	frontal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	p	t		k	ʔ
voiced stops	b	d		g	
voiceless fricatives		s	sh		h
voiced nasals	m	n		ng	
voiced lateral		l			
voiced semivowels	w		y		

Vowels

	front unrounded	central unrounded	back rounded
high	i		u
mid-close	e		o
mid-open	ɛ		
low		a	

Essentially the consonants may be pronounced as in English and the vowels as follows: "i" as in be, "e" as in bay, "ɛ" as in bed, "a" as in bog, "o" as in boat, and "u" as in boot. The sound "sh" is found in the English word ship, while "ng" occurs in running.

Kroeber (1907) reports no regular system of accenting and uses very few accents even in his phonetic recording.

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angale atega
atabi
ayas

"houses together", a community
fish
antelope

[P. 356]

TABLE 1

Consanguineal and Affinal Relatives

Term No.	English	Singular with first person poss. prefix	Stem
Parent and child class			
1.	father	di'gúy'	-gú'y
2.	mother	di'lá'	-lá'
3.	parent	di'málu	-málu
4.	parent	di'yé'lu	-é'lu
5.	son	di'pá'm	-pá'm
6.	daughter	di'pá'mu'	-pá'mu'
7.	children	di'pá'miq	-pá'miq
Sibling class			
8.	older brother, half-brother, cousin	di'á'tu	-á'tu
9.	older sister, half-sister, cousin	di'á'sa	-á'sa
10.	younger brother, half-brother, cousin	di'bá'ya	-bá'ya
11.	younger sister, half-sister, cousin	di'wá'suk	-wá'suk
12.	distant male relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (m. sp.)	di'kú'lu or di'mú'lu	-mú'lu
13.	distant female relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (m. sp.)	di'wá'áwiam	-áwiam
14.	distant male relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (w. sp.)	di'wá'metó-liwí'	...
15.	distant female relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (w. sp.)	di'sú'	-sú'
Grandparent and grandchild class			
16.	father's father	di'bá'ba'	-bá'ba'
17.	son's child (m. sp.)	la'bá'pa'	-bá'ba'
18.	mother's father	di'á'lel	-á'lel
19.	daughter's child (m. sp.)	la'á'leli'	-á'lel
20.	father's mother	di'á'ma'	-á'ma'
21.	son's child (w. sp.)	la'á'ma'	-á'ma'
22.	mother's mother	di'á'pa'	-á'pa'
23.	daughter's child (w. sp.)	la'á'yi'	-á'pa'
24.	father's mother's sister, mother's mother's sister	di'bá'ba'	-bá'ba'
25.	sister's child's child (w. sp.)	la'bá'yi'	-bá'ba'
26.	father's father's sister, mother's father's sister	di'á'ma'	-á'ma'
27.	brother's child's child (w. sp.)	la'á'ma'	-á'ma'
28.	father's father's brother	di'á'kak	-á'kak
29.	brother's son's child (m. sp.)	la'á'kak	-á'kak
30.	mother's father's brother	di'á'bu	-á'bu
31.	brother's daughter's child (m. sp.)	la'á'pu'	-á'bu
32.	father's mother's brother, mother's mother's brother	di'á'bo	-á'bo
33.	sister's child's child (m. sp.)	la'á'yi'	-á'bo
Great-grandparent and great-grandchild class			
34.	relative of third ascending generation	di'pá'sew	-pá'sew
35.	relative of third descending generation	la'pá'sew	-pá'sew
Uncle and nephew class			
36.	father's brother	di'á'wá'	-á'wá'
37.	brother's child (m. sp.)	di'má'á'a	-má'á'a
38.	mother's brother	di'á'a	-á'a
39.	sister's child	di'má'gu	-má'gu
40.	father's sister	di'yá'	-yá'
41.	brother's child (w. sp.)	di'á'muk	-á'muk
42.	mother's sister	di'á'á'a	-á'á'a

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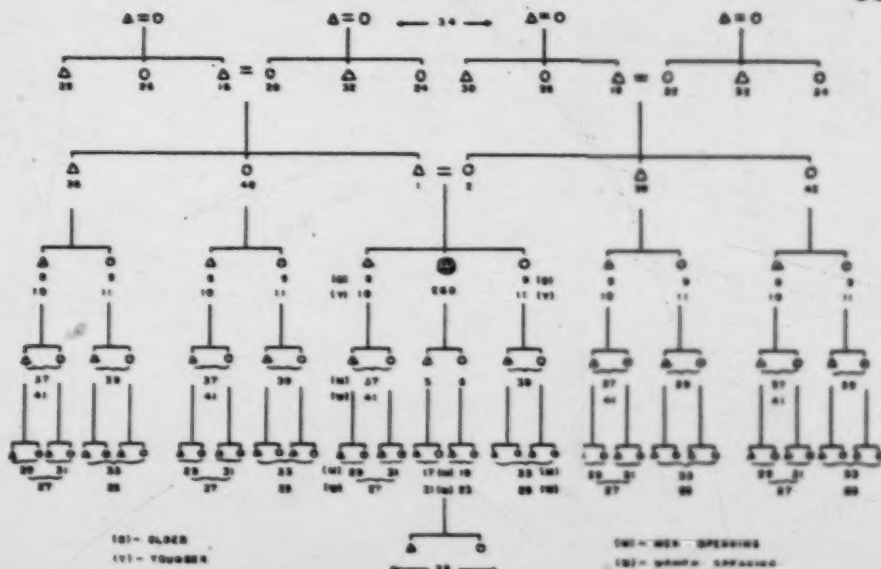
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TABLE 1
(continued)

Term No.	English	Singular with first person poss. prefix	Seen
Parent-in-law and child-in-law class			
43. parent-in-law		láyuk	-áyuk
44. son-in-law		láyuk 'láyuk'	-láyuk 'láyuk'
45. daughter-in-law		láyuk	-láyuk
46. child's spouse's parents		láyuk	-láyuk
Sibling-in-law class			
47. wife's brother		láyuk 'láyuk'	-láyuk 'láyuk'
48. husband's brother		láyuk 'láyuk'	-láyuk 'láyuk'
49. sister's husband		láyuk	-láyuk
50. brother's wife (m. sp.)		láyuk	-láyuk
51. husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)		láyuk	-láyuk
Spouse class			
52. husband		láyuk 'láyuk'	-láyuk 'láyuk'
53. husband		láyuk 'láyuk'	-láyuk 'láyuk'
54. wife		láyuk 'láyuk'	-láyuk 'láyuk'

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Figure 1. The standard Washo consanguineal kinship system.
Triangles denote males; circles denote females.

the terminological system used by the majority of the modern Washo. The terms are listed in Table 1. A diagram of the consanguineal kinship system is given in Fig. 1. The morphophonemic analysis of the kinship terms in Table 1 is based on unpublished work made available by Jacobsen. In the first column, the numbers assigned to each term are the same as the numbers used in Fig. 1; the English translation of the Washo term appears in the second column; the singular form with the first person possessive prefix is listed in the third column; and the fourth column gives the morphophonemically basic form of the stem. Almost all kinship terms require the use of a possessive prefix, even if the possessor is indicated by a preceding noun or independent pronoun. A hyphen preceding the stem in Table 1 indicates that a possessive prefix is always necessary.

The Washo call all cousins older or younger sibling depending upon whether ego's parent is older or younger than the parent of ego's cousin. Kroeber (1917) states that cousins are called older or younger brother, in accordance with their own ages rather than the ages of their parents. This statement was checked with a number of older informants; they all agreed that the terms used for cousins depend upon the ages of parents and parents' siblings rather than upon the ages of ego and his cousins. Jacobsen (1958) supports our interpretation. There is, however, a tendency on the part of the younger Washo to call their cousins older or younger siblings depending upon their own age and the ages of their cousins rather than upon the ages of the parents. Another tendency among present-day Washo is to make a terminological distinction between siblings and cousins by using for cousins the terms numbered 12, 13, 14, and 15 in Table 1. Thirteen of our informants made this distinction for some or all of their cousins. This terminological usage is not confined to the young but occurs among older people as well. However, it appears to be a relatively recent change that stems from acculturation rather than a pre-white usage (Freed, 1960, 360).

In the first ascending generation, there are six distinct terms for father, father's brother, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and mother's sister. Husbands and wives of aunts and uncles are not considered relatives, a point upon which all our informants were quite definite. According to both Lowie (1939) and Siskin (1941), mother's sister's husband is called by the same term as father's brother and father's brother's wife by the same term as mother's sister. This, however, was true only when two brothers married two sisters, as occasionally happened. Lowie and Siskin may have obtained their information from the descendants of such a marriage. The younger Washo tend to use a single term for mother's brother and father's brother. This usage, however, is not widespread; it occurs only three times in our sample of 70 people.

Table 1

Aboriginal Washo Kinship Terms:
Consanguineal and Affinal Relatives^a

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Term No.	English	Singular with first person poss. prefix	Stem
Parent and child class			
1. father		diḡby?	-ḡby
2. mother		diḡ?	-ḡ?
3. parent		di?málu	-?málu
4. parent		diḡ?Lu	-ḡ?Lu
5. son		diḡá·m	-ḡá·m
6. daughter		diḡámu?	-ḡámu?
7. children		diḡá?miḡ	-ḡá?miḡ
Sibling class			
8. older brother, half-brother, cousin whose parent is older than ego's		di?á·tu	-?á·tu
9. older sister, half-sister, cousin whose parent is older than ego's		di?í·sa	-?í·sa
10. younger brother, half-brother, cousin whose parent is younger than ego's		diḡéyu	-ḡéyu
11. younger sister, half-sister, cousin whose parent is younger than ego's		diḡítsuk	-ḡítsug
12. distant male relative or friend (m. sp.)		diḡMálu or diMálu	-Málu
13. distant female relative or friend (m. sp.)		di?uliḡáwlam	-ḡáwlam

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|--|-----------------|------|
| 14. distant male relative or friend (w. sp.) | diʔulimeʔi-ʔiwʔ | ... |
| 15. distant female relative or friend (w. sp.) | diʔuʔ | -ʔuʔ |

Grandparent and grandchild class

- | | | |
|---|------------|---------|
| 16. father's father | diʔuʔ-baʔ | -bʔ-baʔ |
| 17. son's child (m. sp.) | labʔ-ʔaʔ | -bʔ-baʔ |
| 18. mother's father | diʔʔiʔi | -ʔʔiʔi |
| 19. daughter's child (m. sp.) | leʔʔiʔiʔiʔ | -ʔʔiʔi |
| 20. father's mother | diʔʔamaʔ | -ʔʔamaʔ |
| 21. son's child (w. sp.) | laʔʔiʔmaʔ | -ʔʔamaʔ |
| 22. mother's mother | diʔʔuʔ | -ʔʔuʔ |
| 23. daughter's child (w. sp.) | leʔʔiʔiʔiʔ | -ʔʔuʔ |
| 24. father's mother's sister,
mother's mother's sister | diʔʔuʔ | -bʔuʔ |
| 25. sister's child's child (w. sp.) | leʔʔiʔiʔiʔ | -bʔuʔ |
| 26. father's father's sister,
mother's father's sister | diʔʔamaʔ | -ʔʔamaʔ |
| 27. brother's child's child (w. sp.) | laʔʔiʔmaʔ | -ʔʔamaʔ |
| 28. father's father's brother | diʔʔkaʔ | -ʔʔkaʔ |
| 29. brother's son's child (m. sp.) | laʔʔkaʔiʔ | -ʔʔkaʔ |
| 30. mother's father's brother | diʔʔ-buʔ | -ʔʔ-buʔ |
| 31. brother's daughter's child
(m. sp.) | leʔʔ-ʔuʔ | -ʔʔ-buʔ |
| 32. father's mother's brother,
mother's mother's brother | diʔʔoʔ | -ʔʔoʔ |
| 33. sister's child's child (w. sp.) | leʔʔiʔiʔiʔ | -ʔʔoʔ |

Great-grandparent and great-grandchild class

- | | | |
|---|----------|--------|
| 34. relative of third ascending generation | diʔʔsew | -ʔʔsew |
| 35. relative of third descending generation | leʔʔsewi | -ʔʔsew |

Uncle and nephew class

36. father's brother	di7é-vi7	-7é-vi7
37. brother's child (m. sp.)	dimá7sa	-má7sa7
38. mother's brother	diá7a	-á7a
39. sister's child	dimá-gu	-má-gu
40. father's sister	diyá7	-yá7
41. brother's child (w. sp.)	di7émuk	-7émug
42. mother's sister	diá7a7	-á7a7

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Parent-in-law and child-in-law class

43. parent-in-law	láyuk	-áyuk
44. son-in-law	dibu7ágal7	bu7ágal7
45. daughter-in-law	láyé7	-áyé7
46. child's spouse's parents	lámik	-ámig

Sibling-in-law class

47. wife's brother	diwá7dut	-wá7dut
48. husband's brother	dime7éwá7	-me7éwá7
49. sister's husband	diámaw	-ámaw
50. brother's wife (m. sp.)	dimá7á7a7	-má7á7a7
51. husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)	diyá7il	-yá7il

Spouse class

52. husband	dibumé7li7	bumé7li7
53. husband	di7má7á	-7má7á
54. wife	dimá7ya7	-má7ya7 or -imá7ya7

^a Sources: adapted from Freed, 1960, 356-7. .